1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

POTTERY

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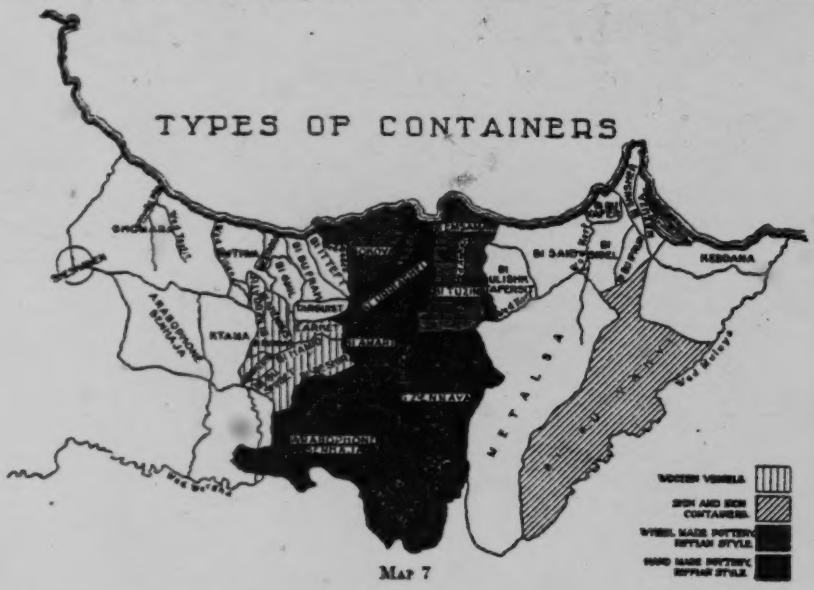
[462] In the Rif and the territory adjacent to it pottery is shaped both by hand and on the wheel, each system of manufacture possessing its own shapes and types of decoration. Hand work is the exclusive duty of women and wheel work of men.

There are two kinds of clay used, a white variety called *therakhth*, which breaks easily and is considered inferior, and red clay, called *er-asr* (from the Arabic *el asl*, meaning "honey"), so termed because when it is fired metal sometimes runs out of it, looking like honey. Nothing is done with this slag, and the inhabitants do not even know what metal



Map 7

it is. This "honey-clay" is red before firing, and buff after; it rings when struck, and makes a harder vessel than the white variety. From it most of the hand-modeled pots are constructed; the white variety is more commonly used on the wheel.

In arranging the paste, the potter crushes dry clay to powder, sifts it through a sieve, and then mixes it with powder crushed from old potsherds to serve as tempering. Sometimes crushed stone is used instead, but only in case the pots are intended for sale rather than for home use, since vessels made with this tempering are considered inferior. When the powdered clay and tempering have been mixed, water is added and the whole kneaded until it reaches the proper consistency.

In the case of hand-made pottery, the potter pats out a piece, flattening it to form a bottom. She then rolls out a strip as for coiling, but flattens it and puts it around the edge

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of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished. 323

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.) 386 347

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tuzin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tuzin, and Temsaman. 323 415

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *seksu* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilise wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghzuth. 415 322

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use 415

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CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY

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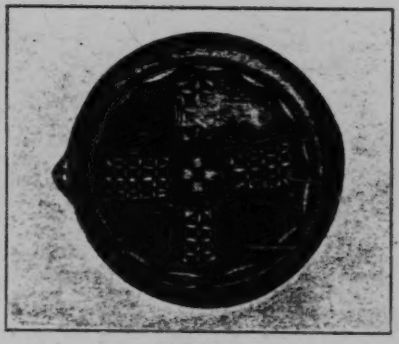

Targuist

Gennaya

Gennaya

Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 76]

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CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

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Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same

Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iberrushen, Gzennaya

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[facing p. 78]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

621 623 571 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in 621 623 571 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and 794 [613] as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral 623 671 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian [613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 623 463 326 323 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subolan) these necessities are complemented.